1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

it be perhaps, to help gather and to help carry home the corn. All the sewing is done by the men, even of the little shirts or jackets worn by the women. In carrying loads, the women rival the men in power and endurance. It is nothing uncommon to see a woman, with a big load on her back, and her year old baby seated on top, with his little legs dangling over the front edge of the load. The little monkeys ride securely there through the bush and dodge the overhanging vines and branches as expertly as could be done by an old horseman. When working for each other the people use their own machetes and axes, as a matter of course; but when hired by a foreigner, they invariably expect to be furnished with tools by their employer. 462 482 464

Domestic industry is at the very lowest ebb. Manufactures can hardly be said to exist. The only articles made, beyond furniture, arms &c., are hammocks, net bags, cotton cloth, and pottery. All of these are coarse and inferior in quality. None of the skill exhibited by the Guatemalan Indians exists here. The hammocks are made of a coarse twine, derived from the leaves of a species of *agave*, and are loosely woven in a frame, with a needle. They are hardly long enough for an ordinary person to lie at length in them with comfort, and are used more for seats than for sleeping. They are swung between the posts of the house, near the door, and at a height of from a foot to a foot and a half from the floor. Everything is carried in net bags. They are made with a needle of bone and "meshed" like our fish nets. Some of them are very fine and they are of all sizes, from three inches to two feet deep. They are suspended by a string made of the same material, usually an inch wide and woven openly, in the same manner as the hammocks. The material of the finer and ordinary bags is the fibre of a species of aloe, or *agave*, much finer than that used for hammocks, and naturally nearly white. It is usually dyed of various colors to suit the fancy of the maker. The colors are obtained from several of the native plants and are very durable. A coarser kind is made of the same fibre as the hammocks. These are made with larger meshes, and are used to carry plantains, corn &c., from the field to the house. 28 32 286 [513] [386] [482]

The people of Tirbi procure all their bags from the Bri-bris, and I believe, their hammocks also. The Valientes, living beyond the Tirbis, in the adjoining parts of the District of Chiriqui, make similar bags, but much finer and more elaborately wrought. The colors in the Bri-bri nets are always arranged in simple bands, while the patterns of the Valiente nets are often complicated and exhibit considerable taste. 438 531

Belts, breech-cloths, cloths for wrapping the bones of the dead, and women's petticoats are woven of cotton. The cotton is raised with no care beyond planting a few seeds and allowing the plants to take care of themselves. They grow to the height of ten or twelve feet, and almost every house has a few in its vicinity. The yellow flowers, buds, and open bolls are seen all the year round, together on every tree. The women collect the ripe cotton, pick it from the seeds with their fingers and spin 286 [248] [283]

it.

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

415

Calabashes.—No utensils are more common among the Bribri than vessels made of calabashes. Gourds nearly globular in shape, with a small, round hole cut in the apex (fig. 5, *a*), serve for water bottles, while the simplest form of dish or cup is a

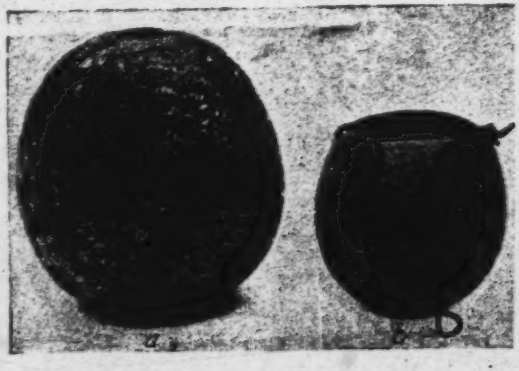

FIG. 5.—Calabashes used as receptacles.

half gourd without decoration. These, or coconut-shells, are sometimes pierced at opposite sides and are furnished with a fiber cord for suspension or carrying (fig. 5, *b*). Thus equipped, they are used as salt dishes.

[531] These gourd receptacles are frequently ornamented with rudely incised designs.

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

Fig. 6, *b*, represents a bowl or cup marked with four T and Y shaped figures, while *a* of the same illustration shows a stellar design with a divided triangle on one side and a T figure on the other. 531 415

Fig. 7 is the most elaborately ornamented calabash bowl collected; it is decorated with [532]

FIG. 6.—Decorated calabashes.

the figure of a steamship, anchored at both ends, and furnished with two nondescript flags, several fairly complicated geometrical figures, the date *1 Mayo*, and the initials *R. M.* Although not obtained from him, it is possible that this vessel may have been made by Ramon, the "king."

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

415

Another type of vessel is a sieve, or colander, made from the shell of a calabash, shown in pl. XIV, *a*. The rim is left intact, but the rest of the utensil is riddled with holes, though a suggestion of a pattern is

[531]
[532]

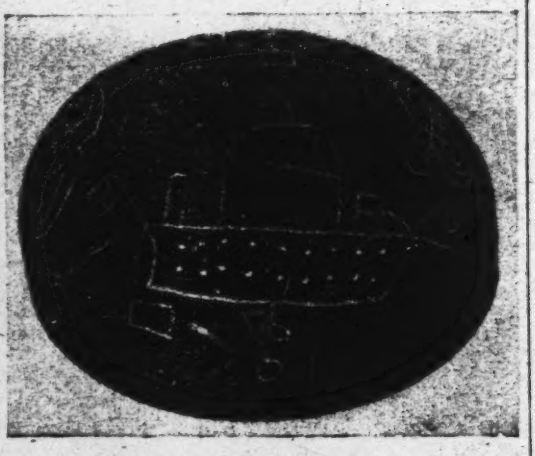

FIG. 7.—Decorated calabash receptacle.

left untouched. The rim bears some crude, etched figures, including one resembling a conventionalized butterfly. The calabash, where cracked, is laced together with fiber string passed through two holes bored in

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

times, though rarely, used. The men sometimes carry, suspended from the necklace, the shell of a small species of *murex*, with the varices ground off and a hole drilled in it to make a whistle. These are bought in Terraba, and are highly prized. 301 [321] [534]

"The men sometimes wear headdresses made of feathers. The most prized are the white down feathers from under the tail of the large eagle. Others are made of chicken feathers, or are worked in rows of blue, red, black, yellow, &c., from the plumage of small birds. I have seen one headdress made from the hair of the tail of the great ant-eater, in the place of feathers. The feathers are secured vertically to a tape and extend laterally so as to reach from temple to temple, curling over forward at the top, the tape being tied behind, so as to keep the hair in place." 237 301

Gabb observed facial paintings applied by both sexes, but none were seen by the writer. He refers to designs made with the reddish-brown sap of a vine, the commoner designs being squares or parallelograms, about an inch across, on each cheek. These figures were either solid or made up of bars. Another pigment, called annato, was drawn in stripes or bars on the face, or an indigo fruit juice was smeared on the face and body. Tattooing is unknown. 302 [386] [531] [386] [304]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 19
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

a trifle longer. Except for the cloths for the dead, which are woven white and afterwards painted, most of this cotton work is ornamented with colors. Besides native vegetable dyes, the people of Bri-bri buy cotton dyed a dirty purple with the blood of the *murex*. This is procured from the people of Terraba on the Pacific. They also now occasionally buy colored threads of foreign production, especially a rich bluish purple, of which they are particularly fond. All of this weaving is with very coarse thread, nearly as thick as the finer twines used by shopkeepers in the United States for tying small packages. The cloth is consequently coarse in texture and rough in appearance, but closely woven and soft to the feel."

286 [292] [386] [439]

Gabb also speaks of a very large blanket of this material, large enough, he says, to cover a good-sized double bed. A plain blanket of this description was seen by the writer on Coen river.

Besides the blankets, a belt of woven cotton (pl. XVIII, *a*) ornamented with parallel bands of blue and red on the natural white ground, was obtained. It is an old specimen, perhaps the only one that remained among the Bribri. [531]

A head-band of closely woven cotton thread (pl. XVIII, *c*) was purchased of

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

237 386 [648] Indians, but also by the Spaniards who demanded purple thread, during the Conquest and the colonial period, as tribute for the church as well as for themselves.[28] For a more complete discussion of this purple dye in other parts of Central America, see MacCurdy.[29] Another, not so strong, purple dye is gathered from a small mollusk (*Purpura kiosquiformia* Duclos) which lives on the roots of the mangrove trees (*Rhizophora Mangle* L.). This creature must be killed to be of use. The soft part of the shell is removed, and the liquid it contains is put on a thin stick and *drawn* on the material in the same manner as using a colored pencil. When first applied, the liquid is black, but it turns purple on drying. This is employed very seldom today, as the little weaving that is done has generally woven designs, and is not painted.

286 [462] The actual weaving is done by the women seated on the low bench that is characteristic of the *Boruca* (see p. 13). The loom used is horizontal with a warp beam and a back strap, the other end of the loom being fastened to the wall of the house or to a tree (see fig. 9, *d*). The crossing of the weft is accomplished with a straight wooden rod, after which the woof is pressed into position with a wooden sword slightly longer than the width of the cloth. A shed stick is used, but there is no heddle rod. The width of the web is kept even by the temple, which is a piece of cane, preferably the part near the inflorescence, with a bone point at each end (see p. 18).

[531] The cloth woven by these people is usually heavy with a stripe design (see fig. 7, *d*). Some women, however, weave a conventionalized geometric pattern horizontally across the white space between the stripes (see fig. 9, *a*), not permitting the design to appear on the reverse side of the cloth. This is a single-faced [171] weft-pattern weave, and is a technique unknown elsewhere in Central America. It has been found in ancient graves on the Ecuadorian coast, by the island of Puna.[30] Men's belts are also striped, although the thread used and the weaving is finer than that of the skirts.

burn, 1779, p. 112.

[29] See MacCurdy, 1911, pp. 160–61.

[115] [30] Information given to the writer by Professor Carlos Zeballos M., Director of the Municipal Museum, Guayaquil, Ecuador.

415 ing liquids, in the kitchen, and for carrying water to the fields or on trips. Interestingly enough, a ring base to sustain the gourd erect does not seem to be known, the vessel being placed on the ground and balanced by rocks or the legs of the *fogón*. In addition to the [231] uses mentioned above, gourds are used as bee hives (see fig. 4, *d*), as a receptacle for the [283] spindle whorl while making thread (see fig. 5, *c*), for carrying seed when planting, and are employed extensively as sieves. The use of the gourd as a sieve is very common amongst the present close neighbors of the *Boruca*, the *Talamanca* peoples.[21] For use as 412 a sieve, the gourd is covered with holes made 415 by a combination cutter and puncturer. This tool has a handle of pejibaye palm in one end of which a forked piece of metal with one prong longer than the other is inserted and bound by string. The longest prong is shoved into the gourd until the shortest penetrates the outer surface deeply enough to cut a line in a circle. This operation has the double ●[531] effect of making a circular hole and at the same time a line design around the aperture [534] (see figs. 7, *b–8*; 7, *c–3*). Gourds are also made into *maracas* or rattles to accompany the drum at celebrations (see p. 29). There is 531 no rule about the decoration of the gourds. They are either left untouched, or are carved in various designs, the most popular of which is the leaf motif, although animal figures sometimes appear. The patterns are cut with a knife, and left to turn a darker color with time.

381 **Glues.** Glues are rarely used by the *Boruca*.
314 A glue that is used for mending vessels, or, at times for water-proofing the dug-out canoes is made from a small palm (*Elaeis melanococca Gaertn.*) called in Boruca *tuskra'*, *tus*, meaning "short," and *kra'*, meaning "plant." This palm has thorny leaves and red fruit (see p. 15). To make the glue, the trunk is cut in pieces and spread out in the open so that the dew has easy access to the sap. The following morning, the residue, which is the glue, is gathered.

323 **Pottery.** Very little pottery is now being
177 made by the *Boruca*. The European war, however, has caused iron cooking vessels to become practically unobtainable as well as prohibitive in price, and the Indians are slowly

[21] Skinner, 1920, pp. 66–67.

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

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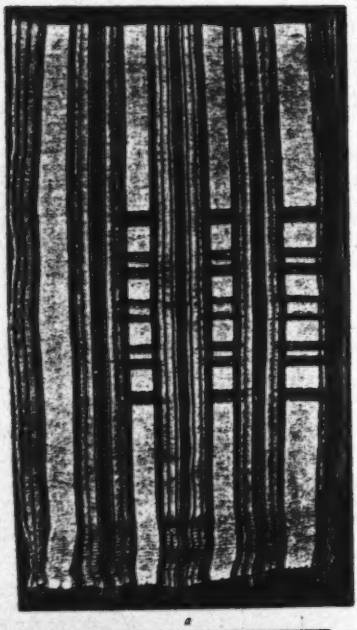

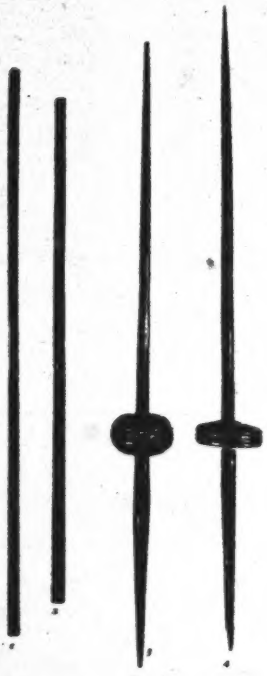

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a, *Mano* or skirt with single-faced weft-pattern weave (courtesy of Peabody Museum, Harvard University). b, Pejibaye artifacts: 1, 2, pejibaye rods used in weaving; 3, 4, spindles and whorls of pejibaye (courtesy of Peabody Museum, Harvard University). c, Start of a *hake*. d, Woman weaving man's belt.

[p. 59]

[Ought to read "pejibaye," see errata, p. 51. —Analyst]

353 gun pellets; the necessary equipment for fishing and hunting; hen nets or nests for laying
[291] made of vine; bark containers or *havas;* remedies in gourds, net bags, wrapped in *bijagua*
[415] leaves, or, rarely, in bottles; tobacco leaves; bright feathers from birds, in particular the
[237] oriole and macaw; toucan bills; dried flowers; sea shells and the shells of crustaceans; animal skins for dress or for curing purposes; fibers for making rope or string; and seeds and tubers for planting.

352 *Cabuya* string (*see* Fibers) hammocks, made
513 by the Bribri men and used by them and the Cabécares, are also suspended from the roofs of all houses and are for sleeping as well as resting. Instead of hammocks, sometimes leaves are placed on the ground by the fire and are used for sleeping. This is inconvenient as dogs and pigs are apt to disturb people sleeping on the floor.

352 Low tetrapod wooden stools or benches are common. These may be long, rectangular, or
[531] circular and are often decorated with a protruding head and tail. The women sit on them while cooking, or people while talking, in order not to be bothered by smoke. The
[824] benches are generally made of cedar by the men and are called *kaLwa* or *bekkegLə* in Cabécar and *kuLá* [77] in Bribri.

415 Close to the roof or the low wall, wooden mixing trays or wooden mortars, *havas*, and basketlike containers (*deku* in Cabécar), fre-
[824] quently lined with *bijagua* leaves to hold chicha paste, are raised on wooden supports to protect them from animals. Large earthen chicha jars with a pointed base are found in all the big circular houses of the Bribri and in some Cabécar ones (fig. 4, *c*). There is always
[439] one or more iron pots, bought in Limón or a Company commissary (fig. 6, *d*). This is true even in upper Talamanca. Here and in the
[824] remote parts of Chirripó, *bijagua* leaves fre-
[264] quently serve as plates and cups, and instead of spoons, knives and forks, the fingers are
[753] used for eating from these or from a common pot or gourd. People say that eating utensils are "dirty" and fear sickness as a result of their use.

352 In the smaller houses, the general furnishings
177 are the same. As these dwellings are usually

[192] to the Bribri term *kuLá*. In this section, the two groups are in close contact.

286 nique. Very seldom does one see bags woven
415 from cotton or *guaruomo* fiber. This last is
[184] found among the Cabécares, particularly on the Pacific side.

286 There are two types of weaving, single or double loop.[89] Those for ordinary purposes are single looped and are generally made with the fingers alone, although at times a bone needle is used to open the hole. The fine meshes, however, are made with needles of
[412] *pejibaye* thorns, and those a bit coarser with
824 needles of deer or monkey bones. The coarse
23? bags are always plain and undyed. The better
[531] ones, however, are decorated with horizontal bands of red-brown, yellow, and black. (*see* Dyes).

285 **Baskets.** *Havas* or carrying baskets are made
824 by men from vines (*bejuco de hierro*) and are
[482] suspended down the back by a tumpline. Baskets for household use only are fashioned from the vein of the white *bijugua* leaf or from palm leaves or cane. Crudely made vine
[23] basket-nets are used for setting hens and hung on the outer walls of the houses.

386 **Dyes.** Red dye for decorating net bags is
824 obtained from the leaves of a vine (*Arrabidae chica* [H. & B.] Verl.)[90] and by rubbing the leaf of *Melastomaceae* sp. A darker red or purple-red comes from the leaf of the red *higuerilla* (*Ricinus communis* L.). On the Pacific side, yellow is made from the bulb of the *yuquilla* (*Curcuma longa* L.), whereas in the Talamanca region it is extracted from a vine called *skəbarko* in Bribri. Black is made by rubbing with *ojo de buey* (*Mucuna mutisiana* D.C.), and in Cabécar it is obtained from a leaf called *səkíbaL*. This must be mashed and rubbed dry on the fiber because if wet, it is ineffective.

352 **Hammocks.** Hammocks are made principally by Bribri men from *cabuya* thread although *pita* is also used (*see* Fibers), and occasionally by the Cabécares from bark cloth (*see* Bark Cloth). There are two sizes of Bribri hammocks. The largest one is generally used by the Bribri themselves and the smaller one,

[171] [89] Skinner, 1920, pp. 58-62, gives a detailed description of these weaves.
[90] This is also used in the interior of South America.
[91] Gabb, 1875, pp. 511-12.

352 sufficient for an adult to sit in, is an important item of trade. They are found in Cabécar, Térraba, and Boruca households (*see* Trade).

286 [177] **Weaving.** The art of weaving was possibly borrowed by the Bribri from other cultures. It is practically non-existent today and does not appear to have been practised by the Cabécares in historical times. Gabb[91] gives a detailed account of the technique and mentions belts, burial cloths for bones, breechcloths, and "women's petticoats." Undoubtedly, skirts are meant and not underwear. Skinner cites headbands and blankets.[92] The only evidence of actual Bribri weaving known to the writer are belts, made by some men on the upper Lari and at Cabagra, and four skirts, made by women who claim to have been taught by the Borucas. The Bribri weave is distinguished by its coarseness. The decoration
● [531] of the skirts consists of wide brown and white stripes which suggest a relationship with that of the Borucas.

415 824 **Gourds.** Gourds are employed as water jars, containers, and cups for liquids of any kind; as receptacles, often with a *pita* handle for hanging on the wall; for carrying seeds when planting; and as sieves, in particular for making [252] *pejibaye* flour. Pieces of gourds are sometimes [264] used as spoons to dish out food and occa- [534] sionally to eat with. Rattles are also made.
The gourds are generally plain, and when [531] decorated, the designs are crude cuts or child-like drawings. The holes in the sieves are made [322] with a metal point attached to a wooden handle.

323 **Pottery.** Today, only in the region of the upper Lari is there any attempt at pottery making. Here the Bribri are said still to fashion the large clay chicha jars seen in the round houses (*see* Furnishings; fig. 4, *c*) by coiling. This process is described in detail by Skinner.[93] 273 Chicha is generally kept in leaf-lined *bavas* or in large wooden troughs.

501 824 **Canoes.** The Talamanca Bribri are the only people to make canoes. Cedar, *espavel* (*Ana-*

[91] Skinner, 1920, pp. 77–78. The writer has a large brown and white blanket made by the Bribri men about 1900.
[92] Skinner, 1920, pp. 67–68.

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962 SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

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301
302
[531]

a

b

[851]

c

d

a-b, Bribri women, Pacific slope. c, Cabécar women, lower Talamanca. d, Cabécar woman carrying baby, Chirripó.

[END PLATE 8]